1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

undergo a modified form of purification at the same time. They would expect to share in the benefits of his power, but unless they took precautions it would harm them.

It was during his[1] period of seclusion that visions came. Here two contradictory ideas had to be reconciled, for the neophyte was expected to learn from others, as well as dreaming for himself. The visions generally followed a pattern of visions recounted to him in standardized recitations by his "ceremonial father." This "made father" (*ókta*) was chosen by the neophyte from the men who had been through the experience previously. The lines of behavior follow those of a society initiation, yet the "made fathers" were not a society. Perhaps it was the semi-nomadic life of the Papago which prevented their closer organization, but they remained individuals, gathering in groups only on special occasions.

The neophyte might learn recitations and songs by rote from his "made father," and this in itself gave him power. Also, the animals were supposed to find him particularly pleasing during his purification and to choose this time for their visits. In this way the idea of the guardian spirit and of a form of priestly initiation were reconciled. Ultimately the neophyte was free. The informal group of ceremonial fathers received him back into the community, singing the songs that ratified his power, blowing purifying smoke over him, and finally calling him by the kinship term. The new *siakam*, or ripe man,[15] was now eligible to take part again in community life.

There was another purificatory process—so like the three already mentioned that it has been classed with them—the segregation of girls at puberty, an ancient rite, far more widespread in the Papago area than any purification for men. It involved the same features: segregation, partial fasting, use of the scratching stick, cold baths, and the avoidance of looking at the sun or at fire.

Obviously, the power which comes upon a girl of nubile age was thought similar to that dangerous magic which men could acquire only by effort. It had the same effect of making the girl dangerous

[15] Cf. the Keresan use of *crude* (raw) to denote those who belong to no society (Dumarest, p. 198; White, 1935, pp. 155, 167). The Zuni, according to Cushing, speak of mankind as "done, baked, ripe" and of the animals and animal gods as "raw" (Cushing, 1880–81, p. 198).

[1] [i.e., man undergoing purification after having performed a ritual act which contaminated him. —Analyst]

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on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it so much."(9)

The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it was one month the first time, then four days.(9) At Akchin, eight days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days, with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four days after the return.(5)

In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night, until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all. Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away, each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratching stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife was under no restrictions.[12]

Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes to offer their daughters.

[12] This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 139); Laguna (Parsons, 1923, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

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and this girl was dead. The men dragged them out into the rain and the house began to burn. Her relatives buried that girl all alone and no one would go near." (26) 841

"Then there was a girl who was going to build a fire and it seemed that it reached out and took her and burned her up." (26)

"And there was another whose mother was struck by lightning. Because when a woman commits this fault, anyone in her family may be punished. That is why, when the lightning strikes a village, they send for the shaman to see what woman was dangerous. He summons all the girls and looks at his crystals to see whose fault it was. They don't punish that girl. She knows that she has killed her relatives and that is enough." (26)

Women admit that an intrepid woman, if she were particularly busy, might conceal her state for a day or two. "But not more. She would be too much afraid." She might also practise the reverse procedure and keep her husband from going to war by telling him falsely that she was menstruating. An injury like this would be far less likely to be forgiven by a husband than would unfaithfulness.

As a rule, the women found the four days segregation no burden. Rather it was a pleasant chance to sit still and give up the household responsibility. They took their basketry to the hut where all women, except first menstruants, might visit them. The groups gambled, sang and told stories. No man might shout to the menstruant or even look at her from a distance. A tale recounts that once a woman in the segregation hut saw an approaching party of Apaches. She shouted to some men in the fields but they would not turn round nor watch her signals and she dared not approach, so the Apaches attacked the village. Another local tale says that a woman who [578] frequently quarrelled with her husband would on each occasion retire to the hut whence he was powerless to get her back. He had to move the family before she would come out.

The segregation custom is still in use, though not so widely as [177] formerly.

DREAM POWER AND CHOICE OF CAREER

The puberty of the youth was not signalized. Even though he married, he continued in his father's house without much change in status until he achieved some noteworthy deed which stamped him an adult. There was no ceremony or definite crisis. He began to take part in men's affairs; ultimately would be consulted and would speak in the council. 881 884

Papago life admitted of a number of specializations. A man could be a leader or a ceremonial officiant, a planter, hunter, 463 787

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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rights to the child's affection or obedience. Just as there is no heavy emphasis on any one individual, there is also no individual who must be treated according to a unique set of rules (such as mother-in-law avoidance or the special relationships of nephew and maternal uncle which obtain in some societies). Though a child often feels no special intimacy with any one person in the household, he may cultivate such a relationship with whomever he pleases.

A second noteworthy fact is that the rules for behavior in the household are applicable to relationships with other Papago. It is assumed that a child's personal contacts will be with blood relatives, whether in his own or another village, and for the most part they are. Furthermore, the pattern of mild domination by the elders, tempered by careful consideration of each individual's opinion, persists in the larger affairs of village, district, and tribe. It is true that, in the recent development of district and tribal councils, the need for knowledge of English and of white ways has increased the status of young men and women with schooling. In the household and in local affairs involving only Papago, however, the old pattern still prevails.

The survey of Papago's interpersonal relationships has shown that there is no abrupt break between juvenile and adult life; there is no period of training, the end of which signals absolute maturity or heralds the sudden assumption of full adult responsibilities. There are no separate rules for the conduct of or toward youngsters.

The indulgence granted to young children may appear to contradict the above statements. But this indulgence may be regarded simply as an exaggerated respect for the child-individual's opinion. Because his rational faculties are as yet insufficiently developed and his training in group responsibility is in an embryonic stage at best, he must be humored in order to maintain peace within the family. As soon as, and to the extent that, he is capable of reasoning, the Papago spare no time or effort to work him into his proper position within the group, i.e., one individual with the right to a voice in and, ultimately, the approval of the course of concerted action.

By the time a Papago has reached biological maturity, he has, in general, accepted his role completely. He has achieved a neat balance between self-gratification and group consciousness, whereby he molds his personal desires into forms acceptable to the whole group.

It should be reiterated that no Papago child learns proper behavior by memorizing rules. He is told that a good man is one who is honest and industrious, kind and peaceful, but he eventually gains a reputation for industry only if he heeds the words of his elders—beginning with requests to bring in wood or tend the baby. It is equally certain that he can maintain peace with